



# Variation in neural development as a result of exposure to institutionalization early in childhood

## Citation

Sheridan, M. A., N. A. Fox, C. H. Zeanah, K. A. McLaughlin, and C. A. Nelson. 2012. "Variation in Neural Development as a Result of Exposure to Institutionalization Early in Childhood." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109 (32) (July 23): 12927–12932.

## Published Version

doi:10.1073/pnas.1200041109

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We used structural MRI and EEG to examine brain structure and function in typically developing children in Romania ( $n = 20$ ), children exposed to institutional rearing ( $n = 29$ ), and children previously exposed to institutional rearing but then randomized to a high-quality foster care intervention ( $n = 25$ ). In so doing, we provide a unique evaluation of whether placement in an improved environment mitigates the effects of institutional rearing on neural structure, using data from the only existing randomized controlled trial of foster care for institutionalized children. Children enrolled in the Bucharest Early Intervention Project underwent a T1-weighted MRI protocol. Children with histories of institutional rearing had significantly smaller cortical gray matter volume than never-institutionalized children. Cortical white matter was no different for children placed in foster care than never-institutionalized children but was significantly smaller for children not randomized to foster care. We were also able to explain previously reported reductions in EEG  $\alpha$ -power among institutionally reared children compared with children raised in families using these MRI data. As hypothesized, the association between institutionalization and EEG  $\alpha$ -power was partially mediated by cortical white matter volume for children not randomized to foster care. The increase in white matter among children randomized to an improved rearing environment relative to children who remained in institutional care suggests the potential for developmental “catch up” in white matter growth, even following extreme environmental deprivation.

A common societal response to orphaned or abandoned children is to rear such children in institutions (1, 2). UNICEF estimates that there are at least 8 million children who live in institutional settings. Institutional rearing of young children represents a severe form of early psychological and physical neglect, and as such, serves as a model system for understanding how early experience—or the lack of thereof—impacts brain and behavioral development.

In sum, across three samples of internationally adopted, previously institutionalized children, institutionalization was associated with differences in neural structure. However, the findings

This article contains supporting information online at [www.pnas.org/lookup/suppl/doi:10.1073/pnas.1200041109/-/DCSupplemental](http://www.pnas.org/lookup/suppl/doi:10.1073/pnas.1200041109/-/DCSupplemental).

are not entirely consistent across studies regarding the specific structures or regions affected. This variation in findings across studies may be because of differences in sample composition and age of participants (adolescent versus middle childhood).

**Effect of Institutionalization on Neural Function.** The Bucharest Early Intervention Project (BEIP) is the first randomized controlled trial (RCT) that compares foster care with continued institutional care. One-hundred and thirty-six children between the ages of 6 and 31 mo of age living in institutions in Bucharest, Romania were randomly assigned to either a foster care intervention (foster care group, FCG) or to remain in the institution (care-as-usual group, CAUG). These children have been followed prospectively and are the subject of the current research (23, 24).

In the BEIP study, neural function was assessed using the EEG, recording resting electrical activity at the scalp at entry to the study (mean age = 22 mo) and again at 30 mo and 42 mo as infants watched an attractive visual stimulus, and at 8 y of age during rest. EEG signal is commonly decomposed into frequency bands and compared across participants. The frequency bands most commonly used are  $\delta$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\gamma$ . Typical maturation has been associated with greater contribution of  $\alpha$ -frequencies to the overall EEG signal (25). Because increases in  $\alpha$  are observed globally across all scalp electrodes, these changes are likely driven by structural changes, such as increasing cortical white matter across development. In studies of adults, white matter integrity is associated with the contribution of  $\alpha$ -power to the EEG signal (26). At entry to the study, children exposed to institutional rearing exhibited decreased  $\alpha$ -power compared with never-institutionalized children (27). This pattern was interpreted as signifying developmental delay in neural functioning (25). At 8 y of age, after children who received the foster care intervention had been living with families for 5.5–7.5 y, a significant effect of age at placement emerged for the  $\alpha$ -frequency band; that is, children placed younger showed greater improvement (28). These findings suggest developmental catch up in EEG  $\alpha$ -power as a function of exposure to foster care.

**Current Study.** We are unaware of previous research that has examined neural structure and function in a same sample of previously institutionalized children. More importantly, the extent to which the structural neural sequelae of institutionalization can be mitigated by placement in an improved environment has never been evaluated using a RCT design. We addressed this gap in the literature in the present report using data from the BEIP. We first examined the effect of institutionalization and foster care intervention on cortical and subcortical volume in a subsample of participants ( $n = 74$ ) from the BEIP who completed an MRI assessment. Based on prior work, we hypothesized that children exposed to institutionalization would have smaller cortical gray and white matter volumes and larger amygdala volumes relative to children never exposed to institutionalization. We hypothesized that the foster care intervention would ameliorate some of these structural differences. Next, we examined whether differences in neural structure explained the effect of institutionalization on power in the  $\alpha$ -band. Given previous associations between  $\alpha$ -power and white matter integrity (26) and the consistently observed differences in  $\alpha$ -power for children with and without exposure to institutionalization (27, 28), we hypothesized that differences in white matter volume explain the association between exposure to institutionalization and EEG  $\alpha$ -power. (See Table S1 for characteristics of institutionalized children randomized to the foster care intervention or usual care.)

## Results

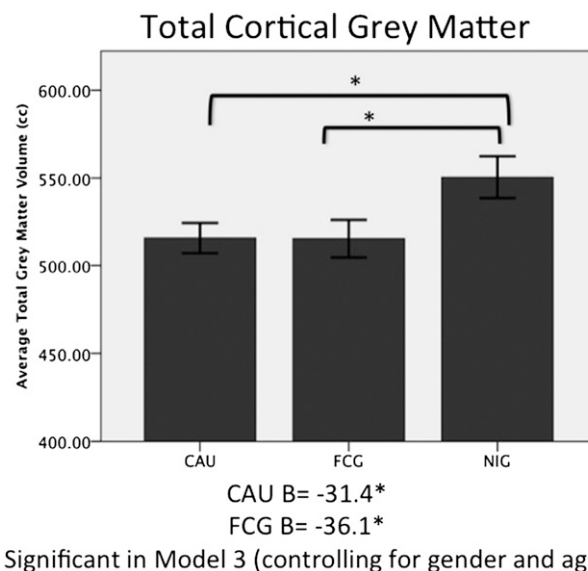
**Effect of Institutionalization on Neural Structures.** All analyses first report the unadjusted associations between institutionalization and neural structure followed by the associations adjusted for

covariates. Analyses of the corpus callosum (CC) and subcortical structures additionally adjust for total brain volume (see *Materials and Methods* and Table S2 for a list of the average volume of all neural structures by group).

**Total Cortical Gray Matter Volume.** Children in the ever-institutionalized group (EIG, which includes both the CAUG and the FCG), had significantly smaller total cortical gray matter volumes than those in the never-institutionalized group (NIG) ( $B = -33.98$ ,  $P = 0.01$ ). When EIG children were separated into FCG and CAUG, both groups had significantly smaller total cortical gray matter volume compared with the NIG (CAUG  $B = -34.71$ ,  $P = 0.02$ ; FCG  $B = -35.05$ ,  $P = 0.02$ ). After adjustment for age and sex, children in the CAUG and FCG continued to have smaller total cortical gray matter volume than children in the NIG. Total gray matter volume was not different between the two groups of previously institutionalized children (Fig. 1 and Table 1).

**Total White Matter Volume.** Children in the EIG had marginally significantly smaller total cortical white matter volumes than those in the NIG ( $B = -20.19$ ,  $P = 0.08$ ). When EIG children were separated into FCG and CAUG, only the CAUG had significantly smaller total cortical white matter volume compared with the NIG (CAUG  $B = -27.67$ ,  $P = 0.04$ ; FCG  $B = -13.3$ ,  $P = 0.32$ ). After adjustment for age and sex, membership in the CAUG significantly predicted smaller total cortical white matter volume compared with NIG ( $B = -25.74$ ,  $P = 0.03$ ). Children in the FCG, however, did not have smaller total cortical white matter volume compared with children in the NIG group ( $B = -17.1$ ,  $P = 0.15$ ; Fig. 2 and Table 1). The CAUG and FCG did not differ from each other in total cortical white matter volume.

**Corpus Callosum.** The CC was subdivided into anterior, central, and posterior sections. It is common to divide the CC into anterior and posterior sections to reflect the fact that crossing fibers in the front of the brain reflect functionally different inter-hemispheric connectivity than crossing fibers in the back of the brain. EIG membership predicted smaller anterior CC volume ( $B = -0.09$ ,  $P = 0.05$ ). When EIG children were separated into FCG and CAUG, only the CAUG had significantly smaller anterior CC volume compared with the NIG (CAUG  $B = -0.115$ ,  $P = 0.03$ ; FCG  $B = -0.06$ ,  $P = 0.22$ ). After controlling for age, sex,



**Fig. 1.** Average total cortical gray matter volume in cubic centimeters (cm³) for the CAUG, FCG, and NIG; error bars are  $\pm 1$  SEM.

**Table 1. Association between institutionalization and total cortical volume**

MRI total cortical volume	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 (adjusted for covariates)*
	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)
Gray matter			
EIG	-33.9 <sup>†</sup> (13.2)		
CAU		-34.7 <sup>†</sup> (14.8)	-31.4 <sup>†</sup> (12.4)
FCG		-35.1 <sup>†</sup> (15.2)	-36.1 <sup>†</sup> (12.9)
White matter			
EIG	-20.2 (11.6)		
CAU		-27.7 <sup>†</sup> (12.8)	-25.7 <sup>†</sup> (11.4)
FCG		-13.3 (13.3)	-17.1 (11.8)

\*Covariates are age and sex.

<sup>†</sup>Significant at the 0.05 level, two-sided test.

and total brain volume, neither CAUG nor FCG remained significant predictors of anterior CC volume (Table 2). Central CC was not related to institutionalization in any model (Table 2).

EIG membership significantly predicted smaller posterior CC volume ( $B = -0.09$ ,  $P = 0.05$ ). When EIG children were separated into FCG and CAUG, only the CAUG had significantly smaller posterior CC volume compared with the NIG (CAUG  $B = -0.14$ ,  $P = 0.004$ ; FCG  $B = -0.03$ ,  $P = 0.56$ ). After controlling for age, sex, and total brain volume, CAUG membership continued to predict smaller posterior CC volume compared with the NIG (CAUG  $B = -0.11$ ,  $P = 0.02$ ), whereas the FCG did not differ from either the NIG or the CAUG (FCG  $B = -0.01$ ,  $P = 0.81$ ) (Table 2 and Fig. S1).

**Subcortical Structures.** In contrast to differences in total cortical gray matter and white matter volume, or white matter volume in the CC, institutionalization had little impact on subcortical structures after controlling for age, sex, and total brain volume (Table S3). See *SI Materials and Methods* for an analysis of the impact of institutionalization on amygdala volume (Fig. S2).

**Effect of Institutionalization on  $\alpha$ -Power.** EIG membership predicted lower  $\alpha$ -power ( $B = -10.06$ ,  $P = 0.02$ ) compared with NIG children. When EIG children were separated into FCG and CAUG, membership in the both groups predicted lower  $\alpha$ -power (CAUG  $B = -9.9$ ,  $P = 0.03$ ; FCG  $B = -10.3$ ,  $P = 0.03$ ). After

**Table 2. Association between institutionalization and CC volume**

MRI volume	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 (adjusted for covariates)*
	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)
Anterior CC			
EIG	-0.09 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)		
CAU		-0.12 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)	-0.07 (0.05)
FCG		-0.07 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Central CC			
EIG	-0.04 (0.02)		
CAU		-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
FCG		-0.04 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Posterior CC			
EIG	-0.09 (0.04) <sup>†</sup>		
CAU		-0.14 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)	-0.11 <sup>†</sup> (0.05)
FCG		-0.03 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)

\*Covariates are age, sex, and total brain volume.

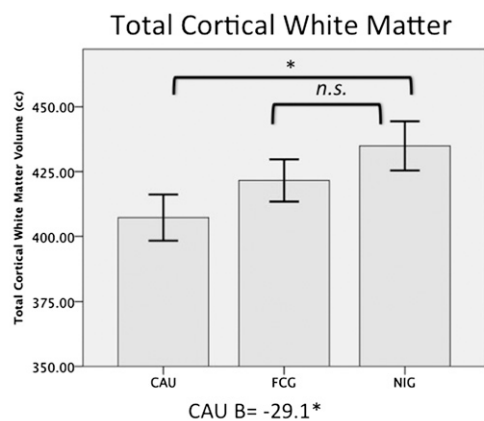
<sup>†</sup>Significant at the 0.05 level, two-sided test.

controlling for age and sex, the CAUG and FCG continued to predict lower  $\alpha$ -power than the NIG (Table 3).

**Mediation Analysis.** To provide evidence for mediation, four criteria must be met. First, we reported significant associations between predictors (here FCG and CAUG membership) and the outcome of interest (EEG  $\alpha$ -power). Second, we reported that FCG and CAUG membership were associated with smaller total cortical gray matter volume, and that membership in CAUG was associated with significantly smaller total cortical white matter volume. Third, we tested the association between the potential mediators and the outcome. To evaluate this criterion, we examined the association between total gray and white matter volume with  $\alpha$ -power, controlling for sex and age. Total gray matter volume significantly and positively predicted  $\alpha$ -power ( $B = 0.08$ ,  $P = 0.04$ ). Similarly, total white matter volume significantly and positively predicted  $\alpha$ -power ( $B = 0.12$ ,  $P = 0.007$ ). The fourth criterion for mediation is that the association between the predictor (CAUG and FCG) and outcome ( $\alpha$ -power) is significantly attenuated when the mediator (total gray or white matter cortical volume) is included in the model. In the final mediation models, associations of CAUG with  $\alpha$ -power decreased when total cortical white matter was included in the model (Table 3). To test the significance of this indirect effect, bootstrap resampling was used (90% confidence intervals are reported; significant confidence intervals do not include 0). These analyses revealed that total cortical white matter volume was a significant mediator of the association between CAUG membership and power in the  $\alpha$ -frequency band ( $-6.9$ ,  $-0.22$ ). Total cortical gray matter was not a significant mediator of the association between CAUG membership and EEG power in the  $\alpha$ -frequency band ( $-2.99$ ,  $0.63$ ).

## Discussion

In the present study, we examined the effect of institutionalization on neural structure and function, capitalizing on our RCT design in which some children were randomized to foster care intervention, to evaluate whether removal from institutional care ameliorated the neural effects of early-life deprivation. Using structural MRI, we demonstrated that children who were assigned to care as usual had smaller total white matter volume and smaller posterior CC volume than children who were never institutionalized. For children who were randomized into foster care, neither total white matter volume nor posterior CC volume was significantly different from those of children who had never



Significant in Model 3 (controlling for gender and age)

**Fig. 2.** Average total cortical white matter volume in cubic centimeters ( $\text{cm}^3$ ) for the CAUG, FCG, and NIG; error bars are  $\pm 1$  SEM.



**Table 3. Association between institutionalization and  $\alpha$ -power before and after adjustment for white and gray matter**

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 (adjusted for covariates)*	Model 4 (adjusted for covariates and white matter)*	Model 5 (adjusted for covariates and gray matter)*
Eyes open	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (CI)	$\beta$ (CI)
EIG	−10.1 <sup>†</sup> (4.0)				
CAUG		−9.9 <sup>†</sup> (4.4)	−9.6 <sup>†</sup> (4.3)	−2.28 (−6.9, −0.22) <sup>†</sup>	−0.32 (−2.99, 0.63)
FCG		−10.3 <sup>†</sup> (4.5)	−8.7 <sup>†</sup> (4.4)	−2.37 (−6.9, −0.01) <sup>†</sup>	−1.38 (−5.0, 0.025)

CI, confidence interval.

\*Covariates are sex and age.

<sup>†</sup>Significant at the 0.10 level, two-sided test.

been institutionalized. White matter was not significantly different between the CAUG and the FCG. In contrast, total cortical gray matter was significantly smaller among children who were ever-institutionalized—regardless of placement into foster care—compared with children who had never been institutionalized. These findings replicate previous studies that have observed decreased total cortical white matter and gray matter volume in children exposed to institutionalization (20, 21). We extend these previous findings by demonstrating that among institutionalized children, randomization to an improved environment resulted in smaller decreases in total cortical white matter and posterior CC volume. This pattern suggests neuroplasticity of white matter following severe environmental deprivation.

Studies of typical development have demonstrated that white matter volume increases across development, but gray matter volume decreases (29–31). One possible explanation of our findings of institutionalization-related reductions in total cortical white matter volume is that this relative decrease reflects a developmental delay. In this study, white matter volume in the CAUG may be increasing at a slower pace than in the FCG or NIG. If that result were true, white matter could continue to increase, resulting in eventual catch up in adolescence or adulthood. In contrast, decreased total cortical gray matter volume for children who experienced institutionalization likely reflects either a deficit or an acceleration in brain development, where children who were previously institutionalized reach maturity earlier than their never-institutionalized peers. This last interpretation is not, however, consistent with the numerous developmental deficits observed in children exposed to institutionalization (8, 9, 23). Given that studies of typical development have shown that gray matter decreases with increasing age across childhood, we would expect that the difference in gray matter volume of ever-institutionalized children versus never-institutionalized children will only grow with time. Future studies should examine subdivisions of gray and white matter cortical volume to determine whether regional specificity in the effects of institutionalization exists and should attempt to link these changes in cortical volume with the cognitive outcomes associated with institutionalization.

Previous studies have identified associations between volume of the amygdala and exposure to institutionalization (20, 21); these studies sometimes used the volume of the amygdala relative to total brain volume as the dependent measure of interest (amygdala volume divided by total brain volume). They reported institutionalization to be associated with larger relative amygdala volume. In our study we first controlled for total brain volume statistically (results presented above) when examining amygdala volume. This difference in statistical approach is addressed in the *SI Materials and Methods* and Fig. S2. When we controlled for total brain volume by dividing total amygdala volume by total brain volume, we found no effect of institutionalization on relative amygdala volume. There may be several reasons why our findings on amygdala volume in postinstitutionalized children were dissimilar to previous studies. First, there are differences in analysis. We considered the entire amygdala, instead of

examining differences in laterality, as was done in a previous study (20). Additionally, we lacked statistical power to examine timing effects (i.e., age of placement in foster care) on amygdala volume, as were observed in a previous study (21). Second, there are differences in sample; our sample was more homogenous compared with previous studies, as our participants were all from institutions in the same city in Romania and had been previously screened for physical and neurological disorders. Finally, although children in our study were placed into foster care families within Bucharest, previous studies have observed children who were adopted into predominantly upper-middle class homes in wealthy countries. Some of the differences between our observations and others may be a result of differences in enrichment because of these differing patterns of adoption.

In addition to using MRI to examine neural structure in this sample, resting EEG was collected to assess neural function. In our previous reports we demonstrated that children who were exposed to institutionalization had decreased power in  $\alpha$ -power compared with those who were never institutionalized (28). We also observed this result in the subsample of children who completed MRI assessments. Consistent with our hypothesis, we observed that total cortical white matter was a significant mediator of the association between group membership and  $\alpha$ -power for children in both the CAUG and FCG. These findings suggest that reduced  $\alpha$ -power observed in the EEG of children exposed to institutional rearing may be the result of delay in the development of white matter in the cerebral cortex. As white matter increases across development, signal conduction becomes faster and more efficient, allowing increasingly higher frequency contributions to the overall signal. More efficient conduction because of increases in myelination may be one reason why  $\alpha$ -power increases with white matter volume in our sample of children exposed to institutionalization, with white matter integrity in adults, and with age in all children. Consistent with this idea are findings from adults that indicate that the structural integrity of white matter tracts is responsible for modulations of  $\alpha$ -frequency among neuro-typical adults (26) and in patients with mild cognitive impairment who evidence a decline in structural connectivity and decreased contribution of  $\alpha$ -frequencies to the EEG signal (32–34).

Institutional rearing is associated with a variety of cognitive and emotional functions. Previously institutionalized children have lower IQ, deficits in language use, and executive function (5, 9). In addition, these children exhibit impairments and delays in a variety of social-emotional domains and a very high prevalence of mental health problems. In this study we observe that white but not gray matter appears to respond moderately to foster care intervention, and to mediate previously observed associations between institutionalization and neural function. This observation may reflect the fact that it is networks of areas, not single structures acting alone, which subserve the complex functions that are influenced by institutionalization and foster care intervention. On the other hand, because white matter does not develop as a unit but instead is organized into tracts, it may be that what we



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